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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

NIC #02468-84/1
23 April 1984MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

THROUGH: National Intelligence Officer for Warning

FROM: [REDACTED]
National Intelligence Officer for Africa

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SUBJECT: Warning and Forecast Report: Sub-Saharan Africa [REDACTED]

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Community representatives and specialists met on 17 April 1984 with the A/NIO/AF as chairman. The attached report has not been coordinated with the other participants but is being circulated to them. If they feel their views have been misinterpreted, or if they have significant additional concerns, I'll report further to you. [REDACTED]

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WARNING AND FORECAST REPORT: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SUDAN

The internal situation shows no improvement over the pessimistic forecasts that the Community has been making over the past few months. Reconciliation between Nimeiri and southern leaders seems to be at a standstill despite US efforts to promote the reconciliation process. Nimeiri is sitting back and not moving.

There is evidence that there have been clashes between the two principal rebel factions operating in southern Sudan. The clashes took place across the border in Ethiopia where the two groups retire to rest and refit, and apparently were caused by tribal rivalries and the different goals of the two groups. One group lead by Samuel Gaitut--who was reported killed--apparently is fighting to convince Nimeiri to redress southern grievances while the larger forces of John Garang are aiming for an overthrow of the central government. Concern was expressed that Nimeiri might assume that the apparent falling out will blunt the insurgent threat, and that he might ignore the need for reconciliation. Most analysts felt this would be a dangerous view for the President to adopt, particularly since he continues to face other internal problems. He recently has had to deal with a doctors' strike and a strike by engineers may be forthcoming.

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Warning Notes:

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2. The rainy season--which favors the rebels--should begin around the end of April.

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WEST AFRICA

The recent coups in Nigeria, Guinea, and the unsuccessful attempt in Cameroon suggest to some analysts that West Africa--and perhaps the rest of Africa as well--is about to enter a period of rampant instability. Others, however, are more cautious in their outlook and do not see recent events as part of an emerging trend, although all acknowledge the fragility of many African states and agree that the military is the principal force that can pressure or change established regimes.

The recent events in the above-mentioned countries were stimulated by local issues. That is, Shagari's lack of decisiveness in tackling the economic mess in Nigeria, the power vacuum following President Toure's death, and the disgruntlement with Cameroon President Biya that emerged within the northern-dominated elite presidential guard when it was learned there would be a shakeup of officer personnel. There is no evidence of outside involvement in any of the three situations. Most analysts, while agreeing that economic conditions often shape the attitudes of those seeking to promote change, were skeptical that economic deterioration is a direct cause of violent change, citing such countries as Zaire and Tanzania where the economies have been at rock bottom for years, yet stability has been maintained. Some analysts felt that such factors as leadership style and the type of political system put in place by national leaders are more important factors in assessing the question of stability versus instability.

Warning Note: Cameroon should be watched carefully over the next few months. President Biya--who, ironically, was rescued by the army--is still on trial. His handling of the post-coup situation--indecision vs. determined action--may well signal whether Cameroon's reputation for stability and economic success will continue.

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LIBERIA

Although justified for procedural reasons, Doe's recent decision to slow the process of moving toward civilian rule have not helped US efforts to nudge Liberia in that direction. Additional delay risks further economic deterioration and provides the likely opposition

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parties--both of which have a leftist coloration--more time to organize. In another vein, Doe has taken some actions that suggest he is building an image of leadership designed to appeal to the electorate should he choose to run as a candidate for president or, instead, simply to proclaim himself president. Underlining the above is his highly erratic behavior--often highlighted by anti-US actions and pronouncements--that casts a cloud of uncertainty about Liberia in the months ahead.

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CHAD

Evidence of dissention within the ranks of the Libyan-backed rebels in northern Chad has surfaced. At the same time, it is becoming clear that northern Chadians are increasingly restless under Libyan occupation. The Libyans are having as much trouble administering this area as did previous Chadian governments and the French before them.

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INR commented that there seemed to be signs of an overall improvement in social and economic conditions in the south--a good cotton crop, increased business and commercial activity--a trend that, if continued, may work to Habre's advantage.

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